QUEEN'S CROSS CHURCH, GLASGOW

Designed by

CHARLES RENNIE MACKINTOSH

Its History, Design and Restoration

A dissertation submitted by
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PREFACE

Queen's Cross Church is situated in the Maryhill district of Glasgow. It was built between 1897 and 1899 by John Honeyman and Keppie Architects, a prominent Glasgow practice of the period. Charles Rennie Mackintosh was employed by them as an architect and the design of the church has since been attributed to him.

Initially, the subject of the dissertation was to have been the history and restoration of Queen's Cross Church. However, despite the discovery of some new material it soon became apparent that the available information was insufficent to contribute significantly to the solution of the major questions surrounding the present restoration of Queen's Cross. In the course of research, however, various references to the sources of the design for Queen's Cross. were noted. Suprisingly, Queen's Cross has been rather overlooked for, although it is Makintosh's third largest built project, it does not figure largely in any published work. None of the discovered references was comprehensive or supported by illustrations. Therefore, one part of this dissertation is devoted to collecting, analysing and illustrating these references as well as trying to place Queen's Cross in relation to Mackintosh's other projects.

Readily available sources such as Mackintosh and the Modern Movement by Thomas Howarth, outlined the history of Queen's Cross Church, its commissioning by St. Matthew's Free Church and its ultimate union with Ruchill Church. Further investigation of these areas led to the discovery of previously undocumented sources which help corroborate some existing theories and provide more details about the origins, construction and history of Queen's Cross Church. This new material consists mainly of church records. The building of Queen's Cross is recounted in the minutes of St. Matthew's Free Church and these are held in Register House, Edinburgh. Initially the minute-books of Queen's Cross Church appeared to have been

destroyed. When approached, Ruchill Church, with which Queen's Cross ultimately merged, stated that all church records which came into its possession

were immediately sent to the City archives. However, no trace of them was to be found in the relevant archives or in the inventories of the Glasgow Presbytery where all documents are processed before finally being deposited in the public archives. Faced with this evidence the only possibility was to return to Ruchill Church and ask if any member of the congregation knew the whereabouts of the minute-books and Baptismal Roles which were also absent. Eventually, due to the efforts of the Rev. Stewart Lang, minister of Ruchill, almost all of the minute-books were found in a metal trunk at Ruchill Church. The volumes still missing must presumably be irretrievably lost.

Two measured studies of the church have already been executed by students at Strathclyde University. Copies of one are kept in the National Monuments Record of Scotland, Edinburgh and the other at Strathclyde University Architecture Department. These two studies, however, are confined to the exterior and as the interior detail of Queen's Cross is unrecorded this might provide material for future work. A study, recording internal and external detail, could be produced, possibly for sale, similar to the survey of Scotland Street School by A. Millar and J. Opter which records plans, sections, elevations and decorative details.

I THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

For a complete understanding of the history of Queen's Cross Church it is necessary to start with the formation of St. Matthew's Free Church from which Queen's Cross sprang.

St. Matthew's Free Church was founded in 1843 as a result of the Disruption. The latter was the outcome of serious differences of opinion within the Church of Scotland which eventually led to revolt. In principle, the struggle was about the Church's right to have jurisdiction over its own ecclesiastical affairs without interference by the State. In practical terms it was mainly over the question of patronage and the freedom of congregations to reject proposed ministers of whom they did not approve. Although the call of the people was implicit in the Presbyterian form of church government it had become a mere formality in Scotland. Patrons handed out livings as they pleased, with little regard for the suitability of the man appointed and with no consideration whatsoever of his acceptability to the congregation.

Why the question of patronage should lead to a revolt within the Church is best illustrated by the Highland clearances. Ministers, instead of trying to give their flocks some Christian succour, preached that their oppressors were the instruments of God punishing the evil peasantry for their sins. Ministers were the servile tools of the landowners on whom their livelihoods depended. The influence of the ideology of the Free Church was so strong that after the Disruption of 1843 the Duke of Sutherland would not allow any Free Churches to be built on his vast Scottish estates.

By 1834 the Dissenters, who were unwilling to accept meekly and condone practices alien to the Presbyterian tradition, had gained a majority. Thus, the Church of Scotland General Assembly of that year passed the Veto Act, which declared that no minister should be imposed on a congregation contrary to the will of the people. As a result of this legislation there followed the Ten Years' conflict. This was not only a dispute within the Church itself but an open clash with civil

authority. The event that eventually led to the Secession of the Free Church of Scotland happened in 1838 when a presentee at Auchterarder was rejected by the congregation there. The case went to the Court of Session and the Court found against a church's right to reject a presentee, a decision that was confirmed by the House of Lords in 1839. In 1842 a petition to the Queen to halt the encroachment of the Court of Session into Church affairs and to abolish patronage had no more favourable results. A final plea was made to Parliament on March, 1843. The Church made it clear that if the decisions of the Court of Session were upheld,this would be taken as final confirmation by the State that the Church would in all matters be subject to the Civil Courts. If this was the case, the Church would be prepared to forego any financial advantages conferred by the State and rely entirely on the support of her people.

By a majority of 135, the House of Commons declined to attempt any redress to the grievances of the Scottish Church, probably due to the fact that patronage was established in English law. A split within the Church was now inevitable and on Thursday, 18 May, 1843, the General Assembly met as usual. The Moderator made a speech setting out his position in the dispute. Then, followed by a large proportion of the Assembly and many members of the public, he proceeded to Tanfield Hall at Canonmills, Edinburgh and there was held the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.[1]

II FREE ST. MATTHEW'S CHURCH

Obviously, St. Matthew's could not avoid the consequences of this enormous split in the Church of Scotland. The minister of St. Matthew's appeared, however to be content to remain as part of the established Church. Thus it fell upon lay members of the congregation to take the initiative if they wished to form a Free Church. So it was that a group from the congregation led by four elders requested Mr. McMorland, their minister, to convene a meeting of the Kirk Session. He reluctantly acceded to this request and at the meeting the four elders resigned and proceeded to form St. Matthew's Free Church. After raising a substantial subscription this church bought land for the erection of a new building and work was started immediately. Construction continued throughout the winter and on 14 April 1844 the new church was opened for public worship. This building was situated on North Street near to Elmbank Crescent and was built in the Gothic style. It was apparently a simple building. This was the first Free Church to be completed in Glasgow. Free St. Matthew's first minister was inducted to his charge later that year on 25 October.[2]

The church appears to have prospered rapidly and by 1847 it had outgrown its recently completed premises. By 1849 the shortage of space was so acute that it was decided to build a new church and a site for this was duly acquired. Designs were submitted by seven architects and that of Messrs. Black and Salmon was selected.[3] The new Free St. Matthew's Church was situated on the prolongation of Bath Street, opposite Newton Street.[4] The site of the church is immediately west of the King's Theatre and now sits on the edge of the motorway as it approaches the Kingston Bridge.[5] The new church was obviously designed to impress, though this had a hefty price tag. The estimated cost had been £ 5, 750 but this escalated to £ 13, 500. The debt thus incurred was not to be fully cleared for thirty years.[6] Free St. Matthew's Church was destroyed by fire in 1952.[7]

Free St. Matthew's first became involved in Springbank, now part of Maryhill, when early in1879 a deputation from Free St.Stephen's informed the Kirk Session and Deacons' Court of Free St. Matthew's Church of St. Stephen's

intention to withdraw from its Mission there. St. Matthew's, which appears to have been a wealthy congregation, agreed to assume responsibility for the Mission.[8] The next important event at Springbank happened in 1884 when it was decided that the Mission had outgrown its existing premises. Subsequently new 'model Mission' premises were opened in Doncaster Street in March 1886.[9] At about this time a note appears in G E Philip's Free St. Matthew's Church, Glasgow recording the addition of a supplement to the Free Church Monthly Magazine in 1882 which "promises to make the work of a future historian easy." Would that this were the case![10]

Subsequently, in the same history, it is recorded that "House-building in the immediate neighbourhood of our premises [Springbank] has taken rapid strides, whole streets of fully occupied tenements now covering spaces which but the other day appeared to be 'no-man's land'". The author then relates the statement to the congregation, of Dr. Stalker, the minister of Free St. Matthew's, outlining the plans to build a new churh in Springbank to meet the spiritual needs of this growing population.[11] Dr. Stalker was an eminent figure in his day. He had lectured in America and there are frequent references to him in Church periodicals and the newspapers of the day. He was obviously an outstanding member of the Free Church of Scotland clergy.[12]

III THE BUILDING OF QUEEN'S CROSS CHURCH

As mentioned earlier, Free St. Matthew's Church supported a Mission in Springbank, which had been established by St. Stephen's Free Church. The first record of the Church now known as Queen's Cross occurs in the minute-books of the Deacons' Court of Free St. Matthew's Church, Glasgow. Deacons' Courts, now known as Congregational Boards, were charged with the practical aspects of running a church, for example controlling finances and maintaining the fabric of the church's buildings. The minutes of the Deacons' Court are thus the most useful source of information for this section of the history.

The minute-book records on 9 June 1896 a special meeting to consider a new church at Springbank. At this meeting the past history of the Mission at Springbank and the various changes which had taken place during the previous year, which justified the Court in giving special consideration to the whole subject, were reviewed. "These changes had reference to the rapid growth of the population and recent proposals in the Presbytery to plant a considerable number of new churches throughout the city".[12] This programme was subsequently modified to the building of twelve new churches in the Glasgow Presbytery. These churches were built due to concern at the decreased rate of church building in the city.[13] At the same time the minister, Dr. Stalker, also reported that the Springbank Mission Committee had under consideration possible sites for the erection of a church, but that no definite conclusions had been reached. A committee was duly appointed to oversee the building of the church.[14] Unfortunately, no record exists of this committee's work, if indeed any was made.

On 2 November a subsequent gathering of the Deacons' Court returned to the question of the Mission at Springbank. Dr. Stalker informed the Deacons' Court that Mr. David McLean, a member of the congregation, but of whom nothing else is known, had written offering a considerable sum towards the erection and maintenance of a church.[15]

Before the next meeting the appointed committee was split into two

sub-committees, one to find out the cost of a plot of land suitable for the building of a church and the other to meet the presbytery regarding a grant towards the cost of new church buildings. Thus on 11th November 1896 it was reported. "It would be necessary to purchase several contiguous plots of ground the total cost measuring to the centre of the street and allowing £300 for old buildings, being around £1850. Mr. McKissock with the view of assisting the committee now offered to purchase the whole ground and thereafter sell to the congregation whatever ground it might require, or alternatively to purchase from the congregation any unused ground." The building committee was then instructed to proceed with the purchase of the land on which the church was to be built.[16] In fact, Mr. McKissock bought the unused ground and built on it the tenement to the south-east of the church. This work was carried out at the same time as the construction of Queen's Cross, probably being completed earlier.[17] Dean of Guild plans show that a house had previously stood on the site, which must have been the 'old buildings' referred to above.[18] See also map extract reproduced overleaf.

The second sub-committee, which had met with the Presbytery, reported "That a grant would most probably be obtained from the Church Extension Committee corresponding to the amount raised by the congregation." Interestingly, at the same gathering a letter was read to the committee from the Established Church, the Church of Scotland, notifying Free St. Matthew's that it intended to build a church next to the Springbank Mission premises.[19] Both the mission and the church have now been demolished.

The subsequent minutes of 7th December 1896 state, "The Special Committee had agreed to remit to Messrs. McKissock and McMichael to submit the name of a competent architect and these gentlemen had submitted the name of Mr. John Keppie."[20] The precise reason John Keppie obtained the commission for Queen's Cross Church is not known but the following possiblities are likely. John Honeyman was an extremely well known designer of churches having completed over thirty in his career as an architect. At the time Queen's Cross was commissioned though David Walker believes that Honeyman had largely withdrawn from architectural practice, due to his age and failing eyesite. Thus Honeyman may have initially been approached but may have referred the inquiry to his partner

Keppie. It is also possible that Keppie was a personal friend of members of St. Matthew's congregation or that they knew of recent work by Honeyman and Keppie such as the Canal Boatmans' Institute 1893 or the Glasgow Herald building 1893. This was a presigious commossion and can only have enhanced the practices reputation. John Keppie is mentioned only once in the minutes. Later, the Glasgow Herald, article announcing the opening of Queen's Cross Church, credits Messrs. John Honeyman and Keppie as architects.[21] John Keppie was in partnership with John Honeyman. Mackintosh's name does not occur in any contemporary texts referring to Queen's Cross. This is not suprising as he was still only an employee in the practice.[22]

The minutes continue. "Mr Keppie accordingly prepared a sketch which had been under the consideration of the committee showing the proposed church occupying the eastern half of the steading of ground which had in the meantime been acquired by Mr. McKissock. The committee were however of the opinion that it would be desirable to obtain an additional sketch relating to the western site, and this with the approval of the committee would be forthcoming in a few days. The Court approved of the committee's acting and granted powers to instruct the Law Agents of the Church to have the title of the grounds duly completed." [23] Mr. McKissock and the church owned all the land on Garscube Road between Springbank Street and Richmond Street. Therefore, the eastern half, where the first plan submitted envisaged the church must have been where the tenement stands today.[24] This site would have been better to build on as it was less constricted, but the church would have been less prominent and the remainder of the site would have been more difficult to develop.

On 1 March, 1897 Mr. McMichael Jnr., a member of the church building committee, told the Deacons' Court that the plan on display in the church hall was the one the committee proposed to adopt.[25] This must presumably have been of the building we see today. After this date the building of the church appears to have proceeded without incident, the main concern of the congregation of St. Matthew's being to raise the money required, since Mr. McLean's generous donation met only part of the total cost. No mention is made of the date when work had commenced but the Dean of Guild decree was granted on 10 June 1897.[26] The next reference to the

new churh appears almost a year later when on 16 February 1898 concern was expressed as to the slow progress of site preparation.[27] Later a payment of £150 to the builder for extra digging is noted.[28] The slow progress of the work might partially be explained by poor ground conditions or rocks which presented obstacles.

The new church at Springbank, the designation previously used, is first referred to as Queen's Cross on 7 March, 1898, this name having been decided on by the Deacons' Court . It appears to have been a straightforward decision to name the church after the junction on which it stood.[29] In June of the same year the church had raised £1370 by subscription from the congregation and the Glasgow Presbytery had agreed to give an equal amount to the Queen's Cross building fund. On 22 June 1898, a Wednesday, the memorial stone was laid in the presence of Dr. Whyte, Moderator of the General Assembly.[30]

The progress of building operations at Queen's Cross seems to have been generally slow and on 1 February 1899 it was necessary for the church to grant an extension of time to the builders.[31] Subsequently a member of the Deacons' Court was dispatched to survey the work at Queen's Cross and he reported that the earliest possible completion date would be the end of August of the same year.[32] The Deacons' Court resolved that the Church should be open for worship on the first Sunday of September. Reading between the lines, it would appear that the Deacons' Court of St. Matthew's had become annoyed with the slow progress of the work as it is recorded "that the tradesmen generally should be urged to hasten the work." [33] Suprisingly, no mention is made of the architect at this point.

At the same time it became necessary to consider the choice of a minister for Queen's Cross. After considerable efforts by the vacancy committee, as at that time securing a minister seems to have been a matter of some difficulty, the Rev. George Sinclair, previously of Broxburn, was appointed. Interestingly, he requested that there should be no let seats at Queen's Cross, a practice then used by St. Matthew's and widely current in other churches.[34]

The church was opened for worship on 10 September, 1899. The opening

of the church, however, did not mark its complete independence from St. Matthew's. Before this could happen the new elders and deacons had to be elected and on 16 September they were duly inducted. Also Queen's Cross had to consolidate its own finances. In November 1900 Queen's Cross was sanctioned as a separate charge. An illuminated address was given to St. Matthew's recording this event and expressing Queen's Cross' gratitude for the building of the church. This has been preserved and can be seen today at Queen's Cross Church.[35]

The last entries regarding Queen's Cross in Free St. Matthew's records deal with the settlement of the final building accounts. Shortly after the opening of the church, it was reported to the Deacons' Court that the total estimated cost was £9,000 including the purchase of the land. As the subscriptions amounted to £9,117 it was not envisaged that there would be a deficit.[36] The settlement of the contractors' accounts appears to have taken an inordinate length of time as a final report was not given to the Deacons' Court until 1 July 1901 when it was unexpectedly reported that the works at Queen's Cross had incurred a deficit of £723.3s.10d. It was explained that this was largely due to an increase of £584 over the original estimates, arising chiefly from the builder's and joiner's accounts, and also to certain items of furniture and fittings which had not been included in the original estimates, possibly the communion table, chairs, light fittings and other furniture.[37] The deficit for constructing Queen's Cross obviously left St. Matthew's in an embarrassing situation. To reactivate fund-raising after the church had been completed would not have been popular with the congregation, who believed that the full cost had been subscribed. Fortunately Mr. David McLean again came to the church's assistance and offered £600 towards the deficit. The Deacons' Court decided to clear the remaining balance from its own funds.[38]

The deficit incurred at Queen's Cross might help to answer the interesting question of why Mackintosh failed to gain the commission to build Ruchill Church after he had designed the halls there. Dr. Howarth discovered that it was due to some mis-handling of the commission by Mackintosh. Howarth speculates that Mackintosh's personal behaviour may have antagonised the church.[39] But a likely explanation, in view of Mackintosh's record of uncompromising perfectionism, is that if a deficit was incurred in constructing the Ruchill halls, as happened at

Queen's Cross, then Westbourne Church would not have been kindly disposed towards the architect. Westbourne was responsible for building Ruchill in the same way that Free St. Matthew's built Queen's Cross.[40]

IV QUEEN'S CROSS CHURCH

No sooner had Queen's Cross Church been formed than a matter of national importance faced the congregation. In 1900, the Free Church of Scotand united with the United Presbyterian Churches. Negotiations had begun in 1863 but the idea of the union had met with resistance leading to enormous delay. The union meant a change of name for Queen's Cross Free Church which became Queen's Cross United Free Church.

The opponents of the union in the Free Church of Scotland were, however, not prepared to join the newly formed United Free Church and, though in the minority, showed a lack of Christian spirit by claiming the entire funds and property of the Free Church. Again the Church found itself in the courts though not now in conflict with the State but with another faction of the Church. The Scottish courts found in favour of the United Free Church but on an appeal to the House of Lords this decision was reversed by a majority of five to two. With their finances in jeopardy the United Free Chuch decided to raise an emergency fund to carry on their work at home and abroad, a decision supported by the Deacons' Court of Queen's Cross.[41] On 4 October 1904 Queen's Cross unanimously passed a resolution "That the Kirk Session and the Deacons' Court of Queen's Cross United Free Church, while deploring the present crisis in the Church's history, are unanimously convinced that the Union between the Free and United Presbyterian Churches was and is in the best interests of Christ's cause at home and abroad, and hereby declare their unabated confidence in the leaders."[42] For a time feelings ran high throughout the country; some ministers were turned out of their churches and professors of divinity lost their positions at New College. To resolve the situation the government appointed a Royal Commission to inquire and report, which it did in April 1905. The commission found that the Free Chuch was unable to execute the trust of all it had claimed, and a commission was appointed to allocate the property between the Free and United Free Churches.[43]

While the Kirk Session of Queen's Cross was engaged overseeing the new members joining the church and the election of office bearers, the Deacons' Court

was concerned with more mundane matters. As it was responsible for the fabric of the new church buildings, the court had to deal with the problems which afflict the owners of any new property. Amongst the difficulties were squeaking doors, draughts and poor ventilation in the hall. Interestingly, one of the church's first purchases was a magic lantern.[44]

As mentioned earlier , the first minister of Queen's Cross, the Rev. G. Sinclar, was opposed to seat rents but he was not able to abondon them immediately. By 1903 however,Queen's Cross had ceased this practice though it was to reappear later under different ministers at times of financial stringency.[45]

An entry in the Deacons' Court minutes of 1906 helps resolve any confusion regarding the buildings that surround Queen's Cross Church. The minutes record the intended erection of a building between the Session room and the church hall.[46] Reference to the Dean of Guild records further clarifies the situation. The buildings to the north of the church, fronting on to Springbank Street, were workshops and warehousing belonging to J. & A. MacFarlane and named the Albert Works. These works had been substantially developed by 1894, though they were being constantly added to. The plans reveal that when the church was built the factory building on Springbank Street was already in existence as was a building on to which the gable of Queen's Cross hall was built.[47] The gap between this strip of buildings parallel to Springbank Street and the Queen's Cross hall was then filled in 1906.[48] The Deacons' Court did not approve of the building of the warehouse extension but had no legal redress against the factory owners.

As Queen's Cross Parish became fully populated the church prospered and the congregational role extended to upwards of 1000 people. Queen's Cross had fallen into a normal pattern of church life. Some events are, however, relevant to the history of the building. During the First World War Queen's Cross' new minister, the Rev. John Hunter, was called to serve as a army chaplain in France and unfortunately was wounded and lost a leg.[49] This meant that on his return it was difficult for him to negotiate the steps on the route from the vestry to the pulpit and so a door was created to give direct access to the chancel considerably reducing the distance for the minister to walk.[50] Those responsible for the work

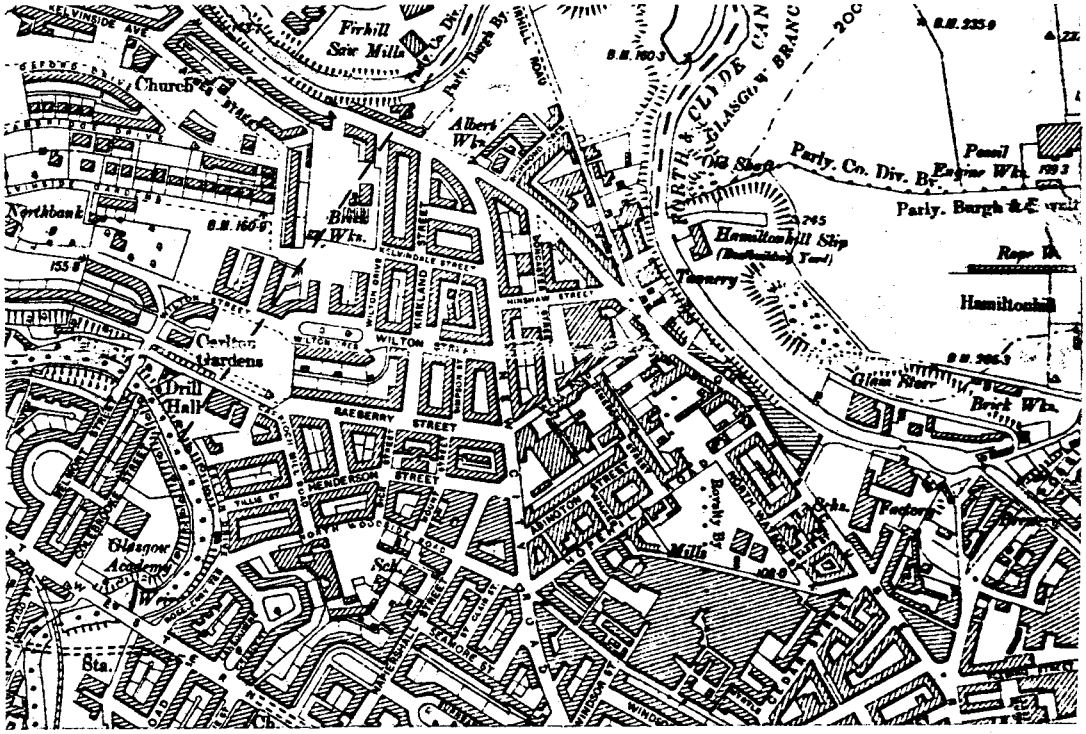

fig. 1. Map of Queen's Cross Area 1897

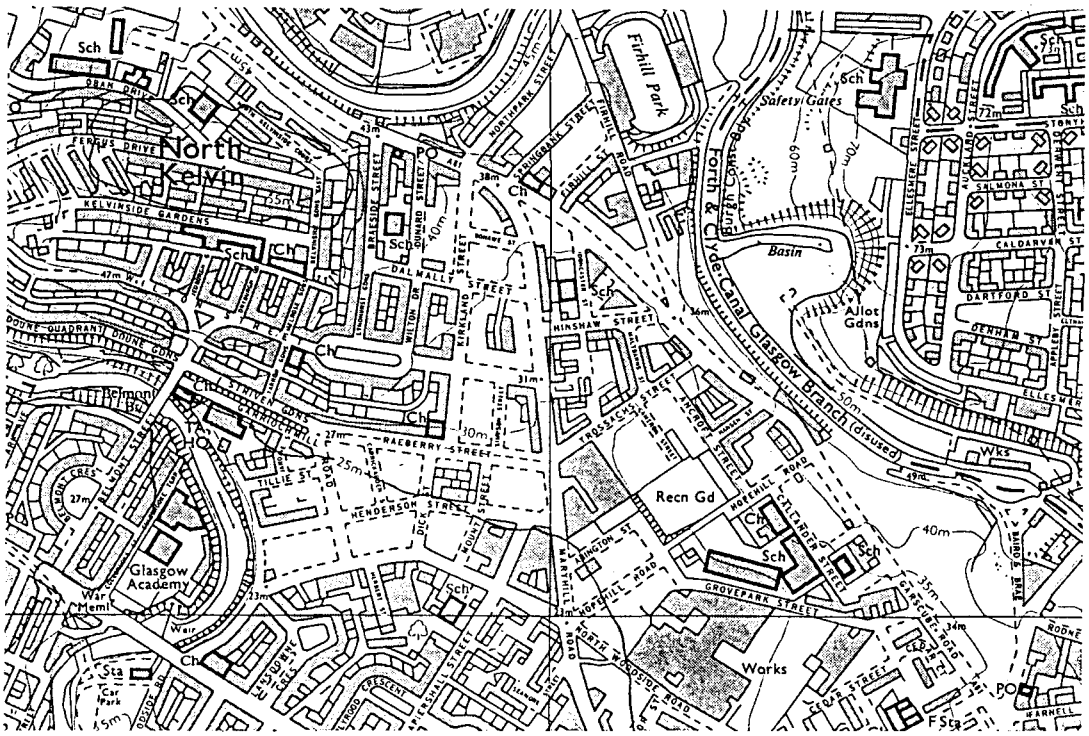

fig. 2. Map of Queen's Cross Area 1980

obviously took care to copy Mackintosh's details as today the door would not arouse suspicion that it was not an original part of the church. This door is shown in the plan in Howarth's book indicating that it was drawn after this alteration.[51]

Queen's Cross was not situated in one of the wealthy areas of Glasgow and this may be why the church did not embark on the expensive purchase of a large organ, to replace the harmonium which had been donated to Queen's Cross by St. Matthew's when the church was opened. This is perhaps slightly suprising as an organ was the status symbol of a church at the turn of the century. Therefore the organ enclosure designed by Mackintosh was not fully filled until 1921 when Mr. and Mrs. John W. MacFarlane of Bearsden donated a pipe organ to the church.[52] The instrument had previously been installed in Mr. MacFarlane's house.[53] This may have been the same McFarlane who owned the works next to Queen's Cross. Later in the same year electric lights were finally fitted in the church, the idea first having been suggested in 1903.[54]

In 1929 came the second major constitutional change for Queen's Cross United Free Church. The nineteenth century had been marked by secession and fragmentation within the Scottish Church but the twentieth century proved to be a period of reunification. For some time negotiations had been proceeding among church leaders for the incorporating union between the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland. One of the worries of the United Free side was whether the State connection had been legally and completely severed, but having been reassured on this point, it was decided that the union should take place in1929.[55] At a meeting on 3 February 1929 the Session Clerk put the case for the Union of the Churches and a vote was taken and it was resolved by a majority of 16 to 8 to approve the Union.[56]

The most significant physical alteration to the church occurred during the Second World War when extra accommodation was required for the Sunday School classes. Due to war time economies, to provide a new building was impossible and so it was decided that the space below the south gallery should be used and a partition erected to separate it from the rest for the church. The church approached Thomas Howarth, who had recently started his doctoral thesis on

Mackintosh, to design a partition. Subsequently, a screen was erected right across the church. This was almost entirely constructed with wood from the pews which were enclosed by the new partition.[57] It is interesting to speculate how this arrangement worked in practice as it must have required the Sunday School pupils to be immoderately quiet if the services were not to be disrupted.

In 1954 due to gradual depopulation and a general decline in Church membership Queen's Cross was forced to amalgamate with St. Cuthbert's Church. The new church continued to use the Queen's Cross premises but took the name of St. Cuthbert's and Queen's Cross.[58]

During this time Mr. Robert Rogerson, architect, became responsible for the supervision of the fabric of the church which was reaching an age when considerable maintenance work was required. Among the work undertaken were dry rot eradication, roof repairs and the replacement of lead plumberwork, including the rainwater hoppers.[59]

There followed a period which saw many changes to Queen's Cross Church under the ministry of the Rev. Geddes. He seems to have been largely responsible for the following alterations. First, the removal of the chancel beam (plate 18). Explanations exist to justify this action but are characterised by their weakness. One was that the singing of the choir was being affected by sound reflected off the beam.[60] The other was that the beam's only function was to support the pipe to an unused gaslight.[61] Another change was the complete alteration of the church's colour scheme. It is likely that due to successive revarnishing the woodwork had become very dark, indeed by all accounts it was almost black. Thus the Rev. Geddes felt it necessary to redecorate the church. Unfortunately, his actions were rather precipitate and the work, no doubt expensive, has not improved the appearance of the interior nor helped the restoration work of the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society. The work initiated included almost completely stripping the pulpit and pews and restaining to a grey colour. The wooden panelling around the church, which would have required an enormous amount of time to strip, was grained. Third, the light fittings, installed in the 1920s, were replaced with more modern luminaires of considerable ugliness which would have been more at home in a

factory. Finally, with a legacy left to the church three stained glass panels were purchased and fitted in the chancel window.[62] They have now been removed as part of the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society's programme to return the church to its original condition. The stained glass was given to the People's Palace for safe keeping.[63]

The forces that made Queen's Cross redundant as a church were the exact opposite of those which led to its creation. After the Second World War, partially as the result of planning blight caused by the plan for the Maryhill Motorway ,and also due to comprehensive redevelopment, demolition in the area took rapid strides. Whole streets of once fully occupied tenements returned to the 'no-mans land' they had been less than seventy years before. As people left Maryhill for the new towns and housing estates on the city periphery the congregation of the church drastically declined to less than a hundred members. Eventually they were unable to meet the expenses of running the church and to pay for the maintenance of the building. This forced the vacation of Queen's Cross in March 1976 when St. Cuthberts and Queen's Cross Church amalgamated with Ruchill Church.[64] The choice of the Ruchill premises is not suprising as they offer more spacious halls with better access from the street. Coincidentally, these were designed by Mackintosh.[65] The hall accommodation at Queen's Cross had always been inadequate due to the cramped site, necessitating the partition under the gallery. Queen's Cross also used the former St. Matthew's Mission premises to provide additional hall accommodation.[66]

After the union with Ruchill, Queen's Cross Church stood empty for six months. There had been a backlog of uncompleted maintenance and no action was taken to correct this. Inevitably, during this period, the church suffered considerable damage due to water penetration and vandalism. To prevent the building deteriorating further the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society negotiated a repairing lease of the building with the General Trustees of the Church of Scotland in 1977. When the Society first occupied the church, it undertook emergency repairs and subsequently in 1978 a series of major repairs was carried out. In 1985 a comprehensive progamme of rehabilitation was initiated. This included stonework, the indentation of new stones causing the present mottled appearance of the church, roofing repairs, plumberwork and dry rot eradication. This work has

recently been completed and the next stage will be the reinstatement of damaged finishes and the redecoration of the interior as Mackintosh originally intended.[67]

Today the situation has come almost full circle and due to the repopulation of the Maryhill area a Church mission is now required at Queen's Cross. Already a Sunday morning service is held in the church for local residents.[69] If the new houses being built bring life back to the area, Queen's Cross may one day revert to its original use as a church.

V THE DESIGN OF QUEEN'S CROSS CHURCH

It has been said that any architect's most important sources are his own designs. Therefore, in order to clarify further the origins of the design of Queen's Cross, Mackintosh's previous work should be taken into consideration. His first excursion into the Gothic style occurs in his 1893 Soane Medallion Competion for the design of a Railway Terminus. There can be no certainty regarding the reasons for Mackintosh's choice of Gothic on this occasion; perhaps he felt the need to investigate other architectural modes or hoped to gain the assessors' favour through the style he had elected. The building is 'Modern Gothic' which is distinguished by relying neither on academic purism nor on eclecticism. It was based on the late Gothic Perpendicular style which had only recently come into favour. Its chief practitioners were G. F. Bodley and J. D. Sedding. The Railway Terminus contains signs of Mackintosh's mature work in its use of broad flat undecorated planes and the confinement of detail to around the turret and window heads. Robert Macleod says of the design that 'with little further convolution and abstraction it could become an entirely typical Art Nouveau design'.[69] This, however, is not the case with Queen's Cross which closely parallels the style of the Railway Terminus, indeed the design might almost be considered less advanced.

The cantilever eave was obviously a form favoured by Mackintosh as he had previously used it at both the Martyrs' School and the Glasgow School of Art. Queen's Cross provides a further example of the use of this detail. Indeed in this respect it is almost identical to The Hill House (plate 9) designed some time later. This gives clues to the stylistic origins of Queen's Cross. Comparison of Windyhill (plate 10, 11) with The Hill House makes it clear that the former is the more conventionally Scottish in character and there the cantilevered eave detail occurs only once, on the north elevation. The Hill House is more abstracted containing other non-Scottish influences and there the cantilevered eave is used throughout. Queen's Cross, therefore, owes less to Scottish precedent than previous work by Mackintosh and more to the English Arts and Crafts Movement, to designs such as Voysey's Walnut Tree Farm (plate 12) and more specifically to Leonard Stokes.

The new pioneering spirit in English architecture of the late nineteenth century has always been associated with Voysey. However, he was much less solitary in his earlier style than is generally assumed. Stoke's Sefton Park Church (plate 8), begun in 1888, illustrates this well, its free treatment especially of the presbytery being remarkably advanced. Therefore, Leonard Stokes and others must share Voysey's fame.[70] It is documented that one of Mackintosh's greatest influences was Voysey.[71] As Voysey did not design any churches it is therefore his contemporaries who should be considered in relation to Queen's Cross Church.

Leonard Stokes (1858-1925) was an inventive architect of the English Free Style School. As well as public buildings, notably telephone exchanges, he designed many churches in an Arts and Crafts manner.[72] In relation to Queen's Cross probably the most notable are two designs published in Academy Architecture, St. Augustine's Church, Suffolk of 1894 (plate 13) and the design for A New Town Church in 1893 (plate 15). There is a distinct similarity between the projecting eaves on St. Augustine's and those at Queen's Cross. The treatment of the gables is also remarkably similar, adopting the same shouldered treatment, as is the positioning of the windows. These motifs are not confined strictly to Stoke's work. They are to be seen in other contemporary work such as that of Ricardo. However, St. Augustine's seems to be a much more forceful design than Queen's Cross. The design for a New Town Church is almost identical in form to the west elevation of Queen's Cross. This might be no more than coincidence, with the two designers tackling a similar problem, but there can be no such possibility about the sill treatment adopted by Mackintosh which he draws on his perspective identically to Stokes .It is interesting to note that both buildings designed by Stokes have the clarity which is generally considered to be lacking in Queen's Cross, but is so evident in other buildings by Mackintosh.

Henry Wilson must also have been another prominent influence. Wilson, who is primarily known as a brilliant designer of church interiors, worked in a variety of styles.[74] His interiors would seem to suggest no possible link with Mackintosh as they were extremely ornate and complex in a High Victorian Manner, but his architectural designs are less elaborate and decidely modern in character. Wilson failed to receive many commissions for the design of churches

and unfortunately most of these designs remain unbuilt. After 1895 he devoted himself entirely to decorative commissions, later becoming the first editor of the Architectural Review.[75] His proposals for St. Andrew's, Bascombe (plate 4) and the New Cathedral, Victoria, British Columbia (plate 16), which constitute almost his entire output, were both published in Academy Architecture.[76] Both are of a very high quality and, judging by his free use of them, Mackintosh knew them and admired their originality. Though the influences of these two designs can be seen at Queen's Cross, they are most prominent in Mackintosh's later entry for the Liverpool Cathedral Competition.

In the Liverpool Cathedral design St. Andrew's inspired the form of the west front and the Cathedral in Victoria much else of the design.[77] Also many details from both are used extensively by Mackintosh. For example, he borrows the west front window from Wilson's cathedral design for the south transept window of his Liverpool Cathedral. At Queen's Cross the influence is far less marked and may be detected only in the details. The treatment of the aisle and transept on elevation is not unlike that of Wilson's cathedral. Buttresses are used to frame the elements of the compositon in a similar way to those of Wilson and the east door of Queen's Cross Church strongly resembles that on the west of the Cathedral for Victoria. However, Mackintosh made minimal use of these designs when compared with James Millar who took the illustration of St. Andrew's as the basis for his design for St. Andrew's East Church, Alexandra Parade, Glasgow.

Additionally Mr. Fred Selby suggests two sources for the unusual and for Mackintosh uncharacteristic roof design at Queen's Cross.[78] The first is Norman Shaw's Holy Trinity Church, Latimer Road London of 1887 to 1889, built exactly ten years before Queen's Cross. The influence of this building is undeniable. The second is the late mediaeval Basilica of Vicenza which has a timber barrel vault, which Mackintosh could have seen on his tour of Italy in 1891. However the slightest investigation of this claim must lead to its rejection A comparison of Queen's Cross (plate 2) with Holy Trinity (plate 1) shows Mackintosh's plan to be considerably more ingenious. He manages to combine a large single span roof with a more traditional aisled layout on one side and also incorporates a vestigial transept, both of these devices considerably increasing the spatial interest of the

interior and the quality of light. The housing of the organ is considerably more elegant than in Holy Trinity, having a purpose-built enclosure and thus not interfering with the flow of the barrel vault as happens at Shaw's church. Mackintosh also achieves a more successful juxtaposition of the curvature of the chancel and west window with the barrel vault. Altogether the interior of Queen's Cross is a more mature design than Holy Trinity Church. This is probably not suprising as Shaw's work is characterised by its inconsistent nature. Shaw was a highly influential rather than a truly great architect.[79]

The tied metal structure of the roof at Queen's Cross is an interesting departure for Mackintosh and is unlike any other designed by him. Where he chose to expose the roof structure the design is characterised by the total expression of all the elements as occurs in the museum of Glasgow School of Art, in the staircases of Martyrs' and Scotland Street Schools and indeed in the hall of Queen's Cross itself, a typical Mackintosh design. In the church at Queen's Cross the structure of the roof cannot be fully understood since it is hidden by the wooden boarding of the ceiling. It is also Mackintosh's only extensive use of a metal structure. It may be that the design was suggested by John Keppie.

Robert Macleod considers that Queen's Cross was in contemporary terms 'modern' and defines this as the modernism of Bodley, Bentley, Sedding and Stokes.[80] It is difficult, though, to see how any of these architects could be classed as modern, though some of them produced highly original designs. Bodley was a committed Gothic revivalist developing a historically based style of extreme elegance and refinement, continuing English mediaeval Gothic as it were after it had been halted by the Tudor accession and the Reformation. Indeed, it has been said that Bodley's churches, having escaped the hands of the iconoclasts, were more mediaeval than most authentic mediaeval churches.[81] Similarly, Bentley, an eclectic architect working in many styles, seems unlikely to have influenced Mackintosh or to be considered 'modern'.[82] Consequently the influence of these two architects must be restricted to creating an enviroment in which Mackintosh's style could evolve freely. Sedding was an inventive architect and Mackintosh was probably interested in his work but no direct influence of his work can be detected.[83] David Walker, in attributing the main influence on the design of Queen's

Cross to Stokes and Henry Wilson, a pupil of Sedding, is probably more accurate.[84]

Since Queen's Cross as a whole speaks so strongly of Charles Rennie Mackintosh it may seem strange discuss the identity of its architect. However, little documentary evidence exists to credit Mackintosh as the designer. Church records mention Keppie only once and the perspective of Queen's Cross rightly credits John Honeyman and Keppie as architects.[85] However, the drafting style and the motifs used on the buildings created to surround the church on the only known drawing could have been executed only by Mackintosh. Moreover in Honeyman and Keppie's job books, which should give an accurate reflection of the workings of the office, the tenders for Queen's Cross are written in Mackintosh's own hand, as are the entries for the Glasgow School of Art which immediately follow Queen's Cross in the job book.[86] The commission for the Art School, which was in fact designed before Queen's Cross, must have moved more slowly.[87] Nevertheless a comparison of the church with his other work suggests that Mackintosh may not have had complete control over the design.

An informative and valid comparison to Queen's Cross would be the Glasgow School of Art, designed immediately before Queen's Cross. Comparing these buildings must lead to the belief that their designs were influenced by differing considerations. The School of Art is a highly original edifice which shows remarkable deviation from contemporary architectural practice. It is generally considered to be one of the most modern and original buildings of the time. Queen's Cross does not possess the same originality as the School of Art. Indeed it is a considerably more conventional than other Scottish Churches, such as James Millar's St. Andrew's East Church of 1904 (plate 5) and Sir John Burnet's Gardner Memorial Church of 1896.[88]

A possible explanation of the difference between the Art School, a controversial building in Glasgow at the turn of the century, and Queen's Cross Church, more traditional in concept, can be found in Howarth who, when commenting on Mackintosh's unremarkable design of Redlands, Bridge of Weir, stated that "the building stands in the same relationship to Windyhill, Kilmacolm

and The Hill House, Helensburgh, as do the Martyrs' School and the Medical College to the School of Art." Redlands was built for a personal friend of John Keppie and the design controlled principally by him.[89] The marked architectural difference of Redlands occurs despite its having been designed at the same time as Windyhill.

Queen's Cross was designed under similar circumstances, John Keppie having obtained the commission and most probably supervising the design to some extent. The church departs little from contemporary practice. There is not an enormous difference in concept between it and St. James' Parish Church, Meiklerig Cresent, Pollock of 1893, by H. E. Clifford, originally erected at Titwood (plate 6, 7).[90] Queen's Cross is however not totally traditional and the Glasgow Herald article of September 1899 relates, "The church is somewhat novel in plan the whole being roofed over without obstruction". This is not without precedent. St. James', Pollock is similar in plan but what is remarkable about Queen's Cross is the compactness of the plan. The nave is almost square rather than the narrower and longer rectanglular spaces favoured by more traditional Gothic designs. This squareness of course had practical advantages as it allowed the congregation to sit closer to the minister thus improving the acoustic qualities. Queen's Cross however did not return to the more radical plans used in churches, even Gothic churches, with galleries on three sides, almost like a theatre. These designs were supplanted by the more historically influenced designs as the Gothic Revival gained stength.[91] This plan arrangement was presumably a deliberate choice, the site boundaries are not being a controlling factor as previously thought.

The design for Queen's Cross is however sufficently advanced to abandon the nave and aisle arrangement, when churches continued to be built in this form despite its unsuitability for the current Church liturgy. Nevertheless, the overriding impression is that this church breaks no rules and sets no precedents. As a result a popular interpretation of Mackintosh's design for Queen's Cross is that it shows his allegiance to tradition.[92] This explanation may not take full account of all the circumstances influencing the architect while he was engaged in designing the building. The cantilevering of the balconies is also a significant innovation.

Queen's Cross is similar to the Medical School and Martyrs' School in that Mackintosh's personal style is most obvious in the interiors while from the outside of the church the identifiable Mackintosh features are mainly the window tracery and detail. Writing of the Medical and Martyrs' Schools Howarth states that they "seem at variance with the young architect's development in the applied arts, but the reason for his apparent inconsistency is not far to seek. Mackintosh was still draughtsman and no matter how fundamentally he might disagree with the ideas and the principles of his employers, he was obliged to keep in step with his colleagues, curb his enthusiasm and conform to office practice." [93] Queen's Cross Church is similarly at odds with the Glasgow School of Art. Furthermore, Howarth's analysis of the design of Queen's Cross leads him to believe, "it would appear that the architect was unable to get to grips with the problem and to express himself freely, in this regard it is most likely that John Honeyman and he did not see eye to eye as work progressed." [94] Howarth assumed that Honeyman took responsibility for this particular commission as he specialised in ecclesiastical work. However as has already been mentioned John Keppie obtained the commission and most probably supervised it.

Therefore, it seems unlikely that Queen's Cross would be as we see it today had Mackintosh been in complete control of the design, as he was at Glasgow School of Art. His own design might have owed more to his designs for the School of Art and the slightly later, 1899, Ruchill Church halls. The design would have remained in a recognisable Gothic style. Mackintosh would have been traditional to that degree.

The extent of Mackintosh's adherence to tradition and his relationship to modernism is confusing. On one hand Mackintosh and Voysey are held out as precursors of the modern movement. Howarth is a particularly strong proponent of Mackintosh as a modern architect; after all his book is called Mackintosh and the Modern Movement. The architects' own words would seem to contradict this. Voysey personally denied the contention that he was modern [95] and Mackintosh's lecture notes would suggest he had a similar attitude. He shuns the use of new materials and commends masonry construction for its solidity and mass.[96] The inclusion of Voysey, Mackintosh and followers into the manifesto of the modern movement may

have been to establish it as an inevitable architectural development. It is interesting that today during a period labelled post-modern so much interest is being shown in Mackintosh's work which was ignored for many years. Perhaps the importance of Queen's Cross and the Liverpool Cathedral design in the understanding of Mackintosh's work is that they show his allegiance to tradition. Mackintosh's Cathedral design is not modern when compared with that of Lethaby, a stunning reinterpretation of the cathedral using modern techniques. Lethaby, far more than Voysey and Mackintosh, clearly stated a modern architectural manifesto.[97] It would seem that Mackintosh was trying to develop past traditions rather than supplant tradition as the modern movement did.

On the subject of Mackintosh's modernity it is interesting to consider the Glasgow School of Art in relation to the earlier designs for iron framed and clad buildings in Glasgow. Could these not be considered more modern? These buildings, though, appear to have been over looked and the School of Art held out as a more innovative building. This perhaps suggests that modernism was an aesthetic rather than a technological movement.

VI THE RESTORATION OF QUEEN'S CROSS

PAINTWORK

There appears to be little accurate documentary evidence for the colour scheme of Queen's Cross. The only early source is an article published in the Glasgow Herald of Saturday 9 September 1899, the day before the first service at Queen's Cross. This article makes only one reference to the decoration saying, "The pulpit and communion table are constructed in oak, the other furniture [pews presumably] being of yellow pine stained to grey colour". This clearly creates a problem as no trace of grey can be found in the church, except on the only pews left in the Howarth Room under the gallery. This trace is a painted square on the backrest of the pew on top of which a signwriter has placed the pew numbers. These squares, judging by the appearance of the paint at the edge, have been stencilled on and it is difficult to believe that they are the original colour which has been preserved by masking. If this were the case the texture of the edge would be identical to the inside of the square. Although the remaining pews in the church have been caustically stripped they do not appear to have been stained as the Glasgow Herald article indicates. Only parts of the pews have been stripped, some areas having been left either untouched, as were the undersides, or painted over, for example the backs of the pews. Neither of these areas shows any traces of grey colouring. Also Mr. Donald Davidson, a decorative plasterer now retired, who became a member of Queen's Cross Church in 1939 and subsequently served as Session Clerk, recollects that these squares were gilded. Whether they could have faded to the colour we see today is a matter for expert consideration but this does not seem an impossibility.

The evidence would seem to suggest several possible explanations for this discrepancy. It may be that the account in the Glasgow Herald is inaccurate or does not include the pews among 'the rest of the furnishing'. It is noteworthy that the article wrongly names the manufacturer of the light fittings as Stott-Thorpe instead of James Stott. Also the likelihood is that noone from the Glasgow Herald actually saw the church as an identical account is found in the North British Daily Mail of the same date. A second explanation might be that the pews were stripped

before the lifetime of the present congregation and that this was not included in the church records or that this stripping was carried out during a period for which no records are available. This would seem unlikely as it would be a vast undertaking to strip the pews and virtually impossible to remove all traces of the original colour. A third possibility is that the pews at present seen in the church are not original. Obviously they were not designed by Mackintosh. The sections are too heavy and they resemble commonly used designs of that period. Despite specific references in the accounts of the church to other furniture purchased, there is no mention there, or in Honeyman and Keppie's job books, of a quantity for pews and therefore we must assume that they were manufactured by the joiner. Why in that case did Mackintosh not influence their design? He obviously had complete control over every other detail in the church. Perhaps the pews were specified without Mackintosh's approval or in his absence.

There can, however, be little doubt as to the colour and finish of the remaining woodwork in the church as all the evidence points to a light red to brown stain. The backs of some of the doors, several of which appear to have been untouched by redecoration since the completion of the building, are likely to give the most accurate guide to the original appearance. An investigation of paint samples by a conservation scientist should reveal definitive evidence on the proceeding points.

Having established the original colour, it might seem to be a simple job to recreate the original appearance of the church using the traditional materials of the day as has already been done in the former Session room. However, one must remember that Mackintosh did not slavishly follow the conventions of the day. It is a well recorded fact that he did not like shiny varnish finishes [98] and so care would have to be taken to ensure that the specification used was correct. Thus, it is likely that the final coat of varnish used recently to seal the staining in the former Session room may have been a mistake. Waxing might have given a more authentic matt finish. Thought might also be given to the use of modern matt varnishes some of which include dyes in their formulation. Similar materials are used by Cassina for their reproduction Mackintosh furniture due to its superior wearing qualities. These, if trials proved them acceptable in appearance, would be easier to apply and

so save money in the proposed redecoration.

The original colour of the plastered walls is not documented but they are most likely to have been an off-white, brilliant white paints being a modern creation. The simplicity of the Queen's Cross interiors coupled with the general use of white for churches makes this Mackintosh's most probable choice. Generally, Mackintosh made little use of coloured bases for walls other than the famous brown wrapping paper in his diningrooms. One of his greatest achievements was the all-white room. Early photographs of Queen's Cross show a stencilled frieze which has aroused interest. However, if this is compared with earlier or contemporary stencil patterns by Mackintosh it is very difficult to believe that they were designed by the same person. Good examples for comparison are the Buchanan Street Tearooms of1886, the Argyle Street Tearooms of 1897, the dining room for H. Bruckman, Munich 1898 and Mackintosh's only ecclesiastical stencil for St. Serf's Church, Dysart, Fife.(plates 21, 22).[99] The frieze seen in the photograph of Queen's Cross is so small that it is apologetic, being composed of discrete elements, that is split up into separate parts. Mackintosh's own designs envelop the whole wall and all the elements are positively linked. However the decided flaw in the design is that the east window is allowed to impinge on the band in which the stencils occur. Surely Mackintosh could not have been responsible for this. This is mainly supposition but analysis of paint samples will provide conclusive evidence as to the original decoration.

In the photographs showing the frieze a strange object can be seen suspended from the ceiling. It is not a contribution by Mackintosh but it is difficult to identify what function it served. Mr. D. Davidson said it was a paraffin heater which would seem most likely.

IRONWORK

It is now evident that the railings and expanding gates, removed during the recent repairs to the building, were not original but a later addition. These railings are not visible in the earliest photographs of the church nor in the drawing of Queen's Cross on the Illuminated Address commemorating the independence of the church. This drawing is small but accurately records other details of the church.

The minute-books reveal further details of the fitting of the railings.[100] These were manufactured by Geo. Adam and Son, whose quotation for the work was accepted in April 1902. Presumably, their installation was completed shortly afterwards. The use of Adam and the date would explain the pseudo-Mackintosh details of the railings, Adam having previously worked at Queen's Cross and for Mackintosh.[101] The specification for the ironwork appears to have been for railings, $^{5}/_{8}$ an inch square at 3 inch centres, with decorative panels, the former filling all recesses and collapsible gates at the doors. The minutes though are vague and leave some doubt about the side gates. If it were not for one small entry in the job books the gates might also be considered later additions. The entry records the final payment for plumber work to 'J. Ingleton and Co. including iron railings etc.' This coupled with their design is probably enough evidence to credit Mackintosh with the design of the gates.This accounts for all the railings and gates known to have existed at Queen's Cross apart from two pieces that are now fitted at the church. One is the second gate in the passage-way to the church hall from Garscube Road. This has no Mackintosh features and must have been added later to improve security.

The only other ironwork known to have existed at Queen's Cross is the finial and a lamp bracket. Honeyman and Keppie's job books and the church accounts both record payments for ironwork to Geo. Adam. He appears to have made the finial for the tower costing £3.18s.0d. and the job books mention a 'lamp at passage' costing £5.5s.0d. This, presumably, lit the passage to the church hall from Garscube Road. This lamp was probably removed when the electric lights were fitted. The lamps design posed problems until a very good photograph of the church, taken soon after completion, was found. This shows the design of the lamp, which is similar to the lamp above the entrance to the School of Art though on a smaller scale. In roughly the same position today there is bracket which spans the passage but it is unlike the one in the photograph. Perhaps the original lamp was damaged and this is its replacement.The photograph is one of two in a portfolio of work by Honeyman and Keppie kept in the Glasgow School of Art Library. The photographs were presumably commissioned by the architects shortly after the completion of Queen's Cross. The portfolio consists mainly of proofs of drawings by

Honeyman and Keppie from publishers. The finial was blown off in a gale and disappeared before it could be recovered.[102] Luckily there is a good photograph of the finial (plate 25) and it should be quite possible to reconstruct it from this information. The design however seems rather puzzling. The finial seems to consist of four arms facing the cardinal points, the letters N and S are clearly visible in the photograph and also on Mackintosh's original perspective (plate 24). It would therefore seem logical that it was intended to be a weather vane, but this does not seem to be the case as no illustrations nor does Mackintosh's perspective show a vane.

LIGHT FITTINGS

The first lighting in the church was by gas, which was replaced by electricity in 1921 when the original fittigs, believed to have been designed by Mackintosh, must have been removed. They are now lost and most probably destroyed. They were replaced by counter balanced electric chandeliers.[103]

The design of the light fittings for the church can be attributed to Mackintosh for the following reasons. The Glasgow Herald states, 'the church will be lighted with Stott Thorpe lights of a special design.' The name must be misprinted as all other references are to James Stott and the Post Office Directory of 1898-99 has an entry for 'Stott, James and Co. Gas Governor and Reflex lights.' The accounts of the church and Honeyman and Keppie both record a payment of £35.0s.0d. to Stott and Co. for gas lights. This was in addition to £87.14s.7d. already paid to J.Ingleton for gas fitting. An extract from the accounts is reproduced overleaf. It is likely that Mackintosh was responsible for the light fittings only in the church, as the church committee would probably not have considered the other areas worthy of individual design by the architect. Proprietary furniture was bought for use in the hall and elsewhere. Mr. Davidson, former Session Clerk, says that the gas fittings in the hall were mounted on wall brackets and although no trace of these can readily be found this remains a possibility and could be investigated with the use of a metal detector. The best way of establishing the positions of the light fittings is to trace the course of the gas pipes which are still visible in the hall and elsewhere in the building.

If no records of the design of the light fittings can be found there are two strategies which might be adopted for the lighting of the church. A copy of an existing design by Mackintosh of a scale suitable for the large volume of the church might be installed. Alternatively, consideration might be given to commissioning or selecting a contemporary light fitting to complement the interior. To create a pastiche of Mackintosh would not be a valuable contibution to design today and it is doubtful if Mackintosh would have appoved of such an action.

FURNITURE AND FITTINGS

Mackintosh was obviously responsible for the pulpit, communion table and chairs at Queen's Cross. In time though these have suffered alterations from their original appearance. It is most probable that they were all initially of stained oak. Howarth states that the only project where oak was left in its natural state was Holy Trinity Church at Bridge of Allan in 1904.[102]

Only the chairs at Queen's Cross seem to have survived in an original condition but have suffered considerable wear. The pulpit is known to have been

partially stripped at the same time as the other wood in the church. Investigation of the underside should reveal its original finish. The communion table seems to have been similarly treated though it is not known at what date. The upholstery of the pulpit seat was replaced along with the other refurbishment carried out in the 1960s. The seat in the pulpit was previously green, presumably matching the inlay at present visible at the top of the pulpit (plate 23).[104]

The fate of the furniture designed by Mackintosh at Queen's Cross should also be noted. There were originally three chairs, one for the minister and two others. After the amalgamation of the churches, the chairs passed into the ownership of Ruchill Church which sold them at auction. The minister's chair, distinguished by its pierced petal motif, is in a private collection as are the other chairs but these have been kindly lent to the society. The communion table and the alms dishes and stands are on loan to the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society from Ruchill Church, after it was decided that what rightly belonged to Queen's Cross should not be sold.[105]

The chancel beam now removed is well recorded in photographs taken by Thomas Howarth and The Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society plans to recreate it from this information.

fig. 3. Extract from accounts of Free St. Matthew's Church 31 December 1901

NEW MISSION CHURCH BUILDING FUND.

Ordinary Subscriptions Paid,	£7211 17 6		
Subscriptions to Special Effort Account,	711 0 4		
Grant by Free Church Building Committee,	1500 0 0		
Collection at Opening Services,	81 11 10		
Mr. MacLean for Contingent Expenses,	50 0 0		
Received for Old Buildings,	121 18 4		
Balance of Interest over Sundry Expenses,	88 4 11		
		£9764 12 11	
J. Honeyman & Keppie, Architects, Donation,	£35 15 0		
Douglas, Hunter & Whitson, Measurers, Donation,	10 14 0		
W. & A. Taylor, Builders, Donation,	10 0 0		
William M'Call & Son, Joiners, "	3 3 0		
		59 12 0	
		£9824 4 11	

I.—Cost of Ground,			£1838 16 3		
Law Charges,			71 19 11		
				£1910 16 2	
II.—Contractors—	Estimates.		Completed A/cs.		
W. & A. Taylor, Builders,	£3995 15 10		£4220 13 7		
Wm. M'Call & Son, Joiners,	1578 9 8½		1867 1 1		
J. Anderson, Slater,	190 17 4		178 6 5		
J. Ingleton & Co., Plumbers,	135 0 1		183 5 4		
W. Forbes, Plasterer,	67 7 5		57 7 8		
N. M'Dougall, Glazier,	110 11 3		69 3 10		
J. Ingleton & Co., Gas Fitters,	86 0 0		87 14 7		
Hunter, MacWilliam & Co., Heating Engineers,	174 9 0		170 10 3		
	£6338 10 6½			£6834 2 9	
III.—Architect, Measurer and Sundries—					
J. Honeyman & Keppie, Architects,			£357 10 0		
Douglas, Hunter & Whitson, Measurers, (one half of which is deducted from Contractors Accounts above).			175 14 0		
Inspector,			150 0 0		
Painting,			113 5 2		
Carving,			27 15 0		
Scott & Co., Gas Lights,			35 0 0		
M'Kissock & Son, Proportion of Wall,			10 0 0		
George Adam, Finial of Tower,			3 18 0		
Lamp and Connections,			8 11 0		
				881 13 2	
IV.—Sundries—					
Buist, Cunningham & Co., Furnishings,			£43 4 11		
Bennett Furnishing Co., Furniture for Hall,			25 14 0		
M'Geoch, Kemp & Co., £5 7s. 6d.; A. Davie & Son, £10 2s., Ironmongers,			15 9 6		
Communion Table, £16 16s. 6d.; Collection Plate, £2 5s.,			19 1 6		
Wylie & Lochhead, Furnishings,			14 15 11		
				118 5 10	
V.—Special Charges—					
Mr. Sinclair, for Removal Expenses,			£50 0 0		
Pulpit Robes, £15 15s.; Pulpit Bible, £4 10s.,			20 5 0		
Hymn Books, £0 1s. 6d.; Advertising Opening Services, £3 0s. 6d.,			9 2 0		
				79 7 0	
				£9824 4 11	

31st December, 1901. E. & O. E. JAMES M'MICHAEL, Junr., *Treasurer.*

VII CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has detailed the history of Queen's Cross Church, but not from a purely architectural viewpoint. Initially, the church was found to have had various names, but the reasons for and dates of these changes had not been recorded. Therefore, it was felt it would be useful for those interested to describe why it was built and to recount the major events in its history.

The case has been made that Queen's Cross is not a radical building but is of a traditional nature. Mackintosh based his work on traditional ideas similar to those of Pugin who stressed the importance of tradition. In view of this why should it have been suggested here that Queen's Cross was not designed entirely as Mackintosh would have wished? The exterior of Queen's Cross would seem to be the design's most telling aspect lacking the commanding authority of Mackintosh's other work. The elevations are awkward and disjointed, no linking order being apparent. If the detail treatment was ignored it would be difficult to identify the design as by Mackintosh. The building does not seem to rise to the challenge of the surrounding tenements as even today with many of them demolished it can still seem overpowered. Compared with the Art School its design seems a retrograde step and the Glasgow Herald 1893 which predates Queen's Cross by three years seems freer in its treatment. The design for Ruchill Halls is interesting in that it seems to return to Mackintosh's typical style.

Mackintosh, though he considered tradition important, took it as his starting point and not his master. The Hill House demonstrates this well. He was, therefore, in many ways a progressive architect. He knew of and borrowed from the work of the best contemporary architects. Designs such as The Hill House and Windy Hill, though derived from Scottish tradition, probably owe as much to James Maclaren's interpretation of the Scottish idiom as directly to historical precedent.

So far John Keppie has been rather the villain of the piece, holding Mackintosh back. It is likely he had some influence on the design. The roof structure has already been noted as unique for Mackintosh and bearing in mind his

apparent dislike of iron construction it is possible that this element was influenced by Keppie. Another major influence on any architectural design has so far been ignored, the client. The Free Church of Scotland was highly conservative and early designs may have been dismissed as too unconventional. The enormous influence the client can have is apparent in Mackintosh's design for Auchinibert.[106] What better way to tone down a design than by using a historical source such as the tower. The church tower at Queen's Cross seems to be the only occasion on which Mackintosh used such a direct historical reference. Another consideration is the project's budget. It has been suggested that the cost constraints of the Glasgow School of Art are partially responsible for the simplicity of the design. Could a more generous budget at Queen's Cross have allowed Mackintosh to alter his style to that seen at Queen's Cross? It seems unlikely as the difference appears to be one of concept rather than finish. Working for wealthy and cooperative clients Mackintosh's designs do not markedly change.

For these reasons and believing that an architect of Mackintosh's genius would have been aware of these problems and could adequately have solved them an explanation was sought. The belief of the author is that Mackintosh did not have an entirely free hand when he designed Queen's Cross. This would be best explained by his position in the office hierachy. Mackintosh was still an employee and John Keppie as the partner would have wished to maintain control over the output of the office and probably regarded the design as his own. Mackintosh didnot become a partner until seven years after the design of Queen's Cross.

Queen's Cross is an extremely attractive building. It is unpretentious and has a warmth and personality that were lacking in so many of the churches built at that time due to their reliance on stock patterns. The interior of Queen's Cross is a successful space, serving its funtion well. At present it is difficult to appreciate fully appreciate its qualities, but after redecoration its appearance will be greatly enhanced. The Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society should be wished every possible success with the resoration of the church.

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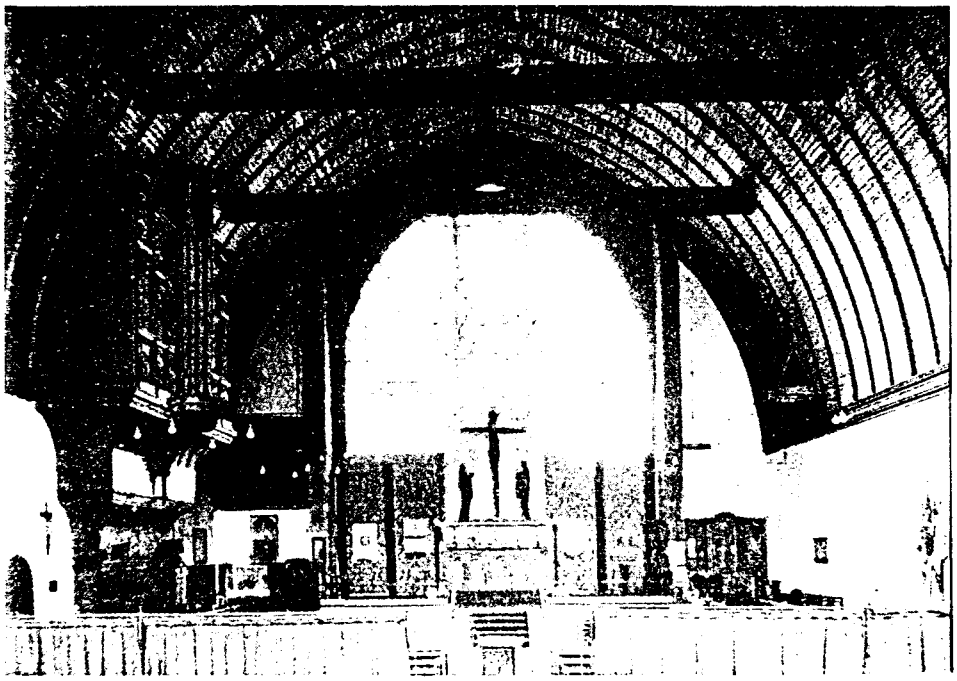

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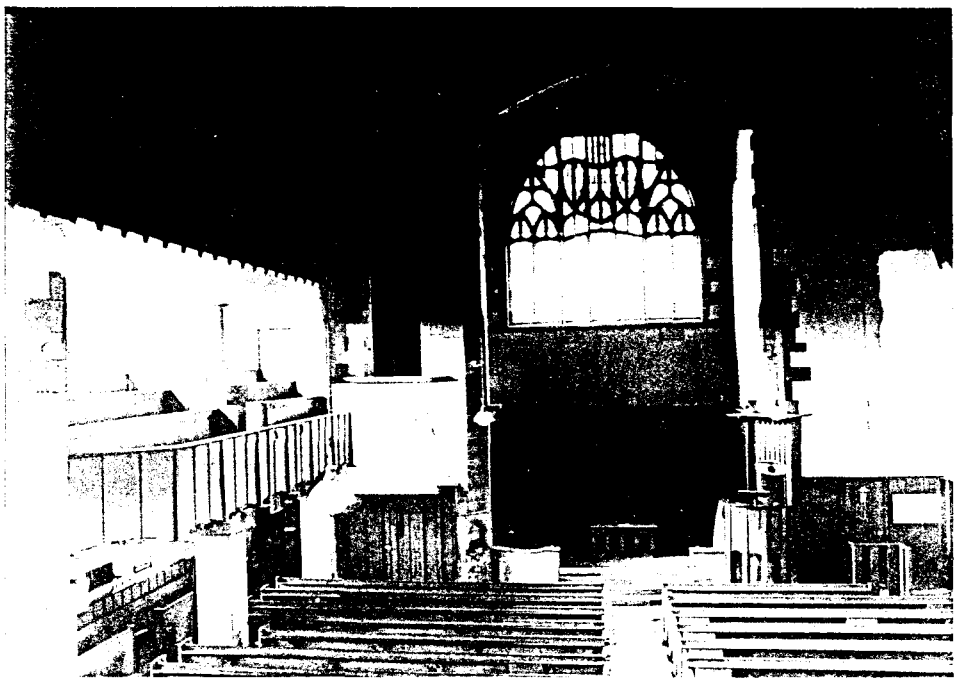

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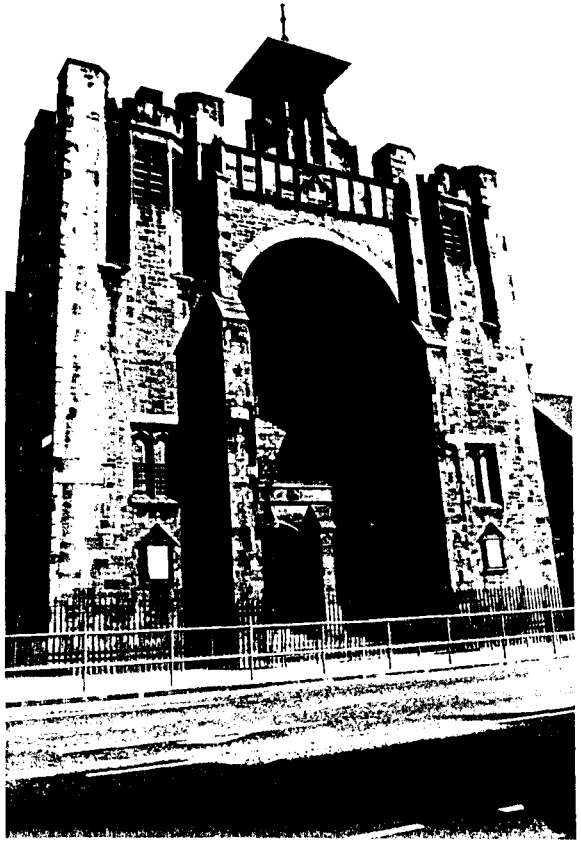

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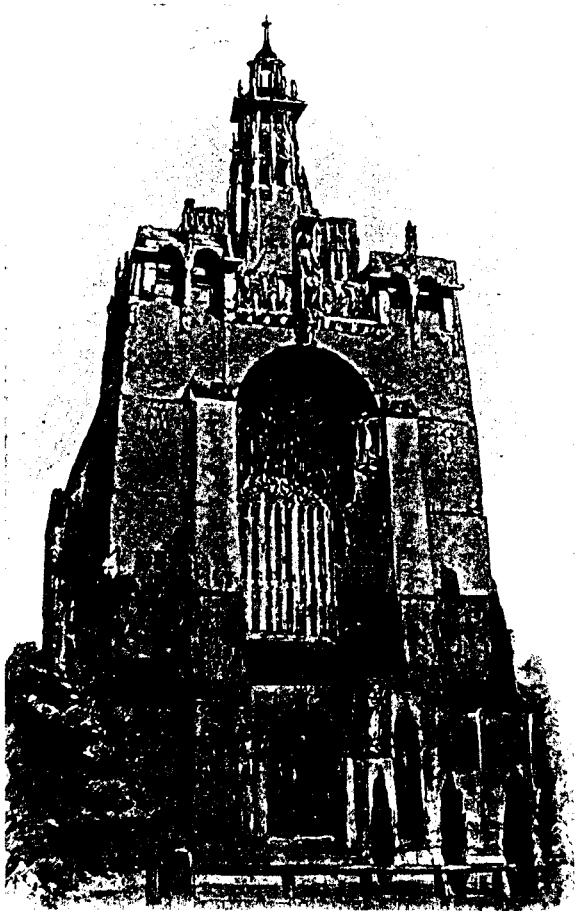

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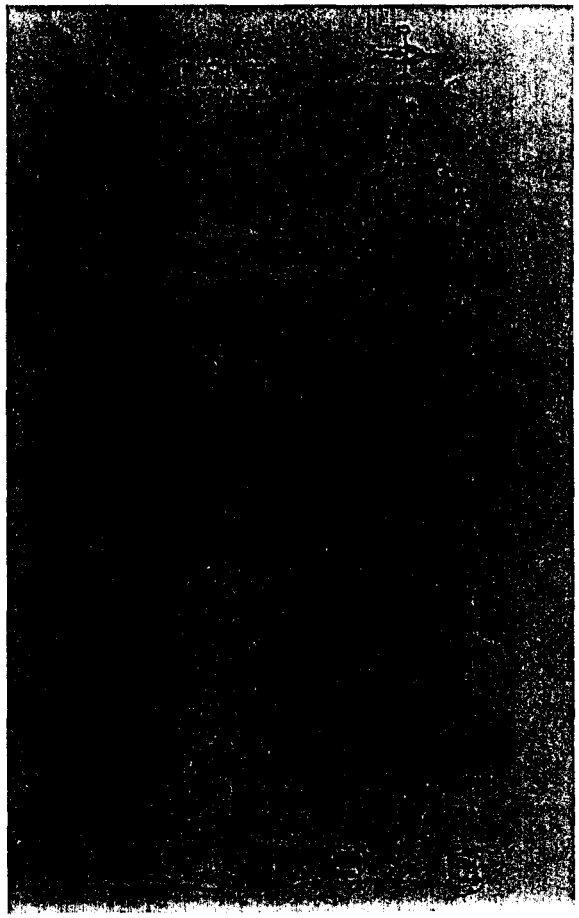

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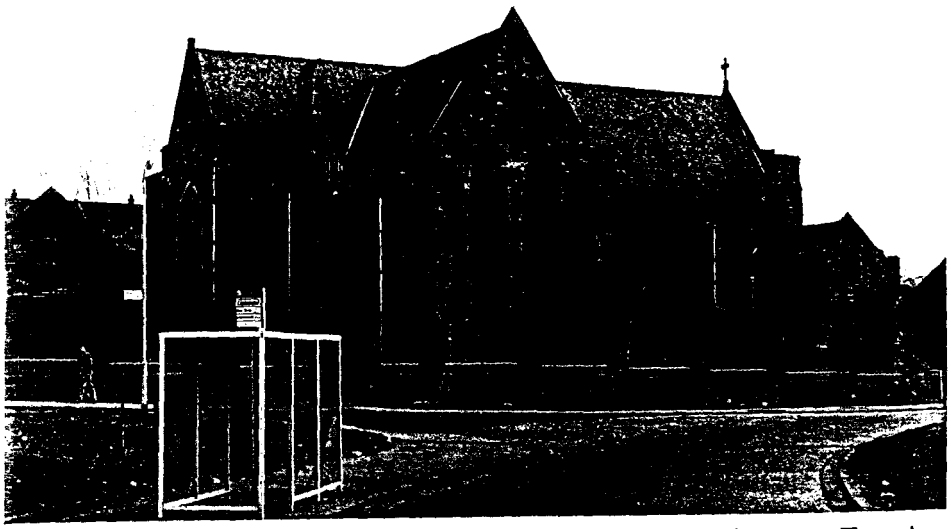

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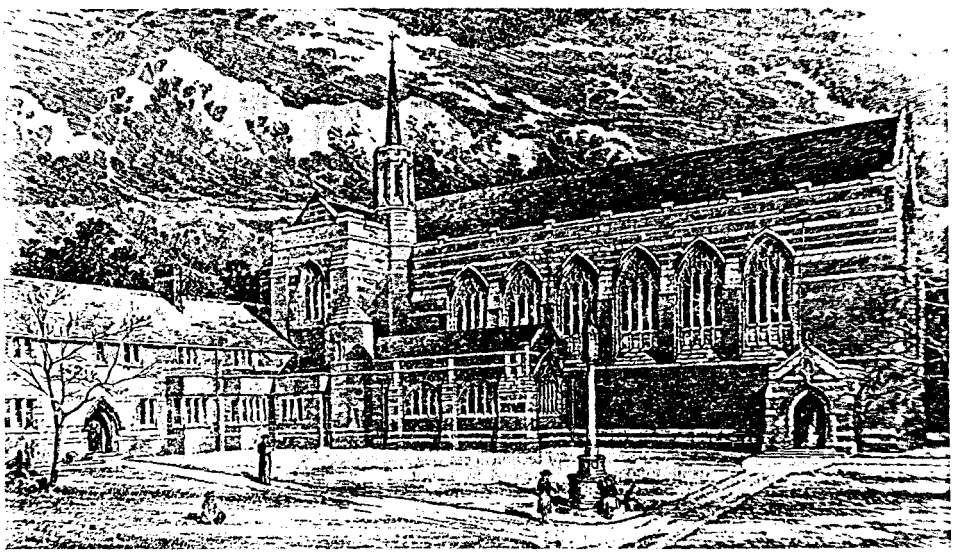

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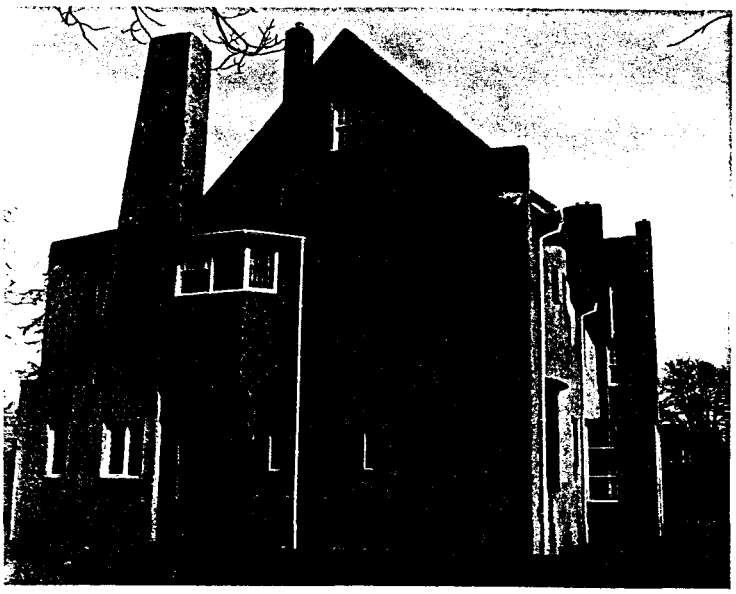

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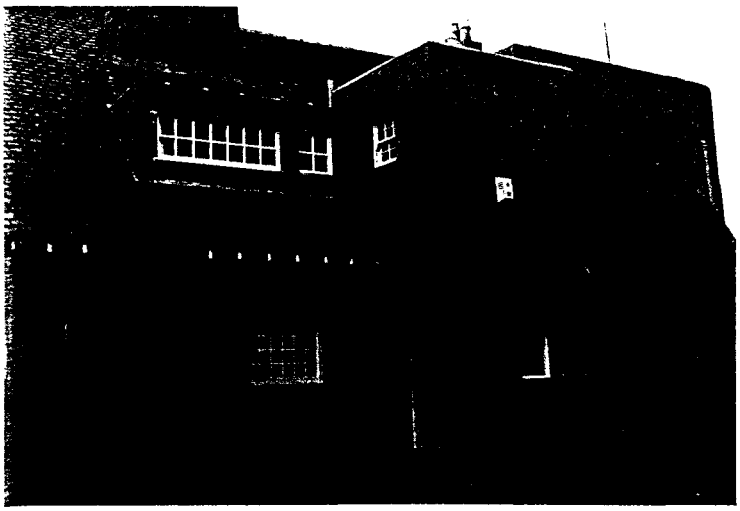

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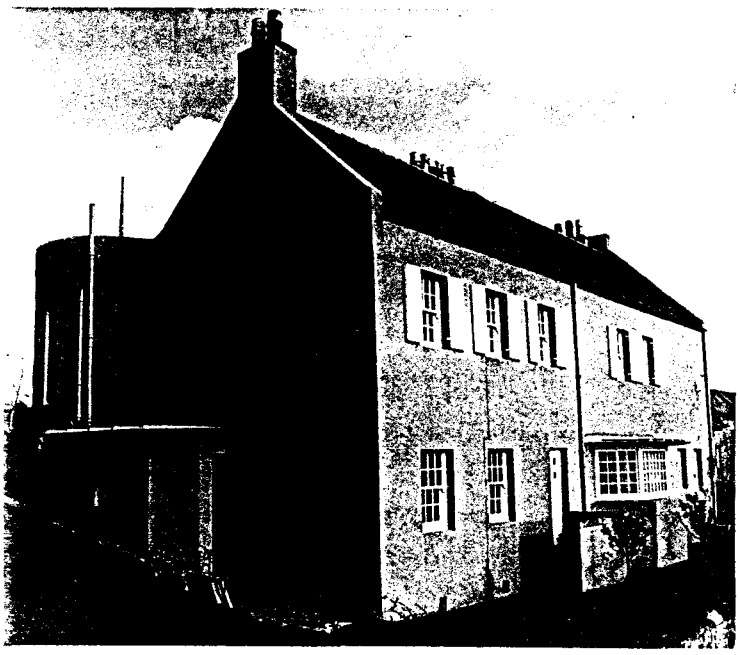

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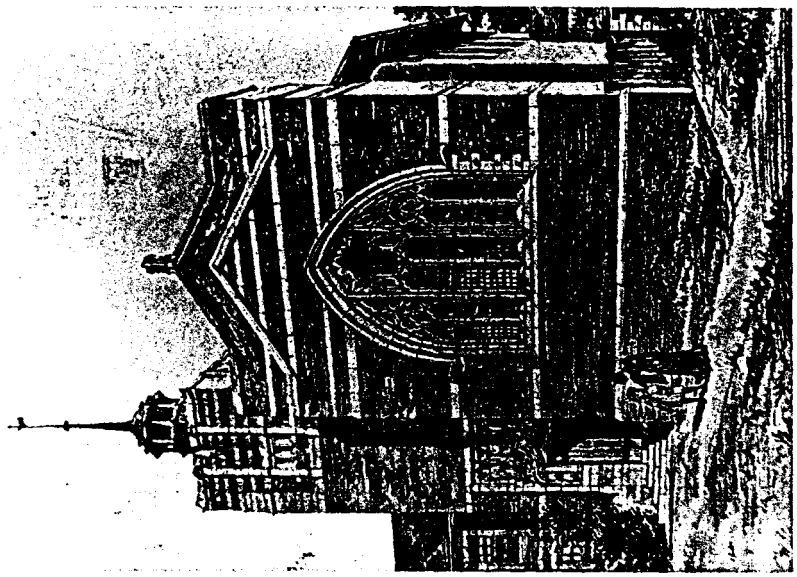

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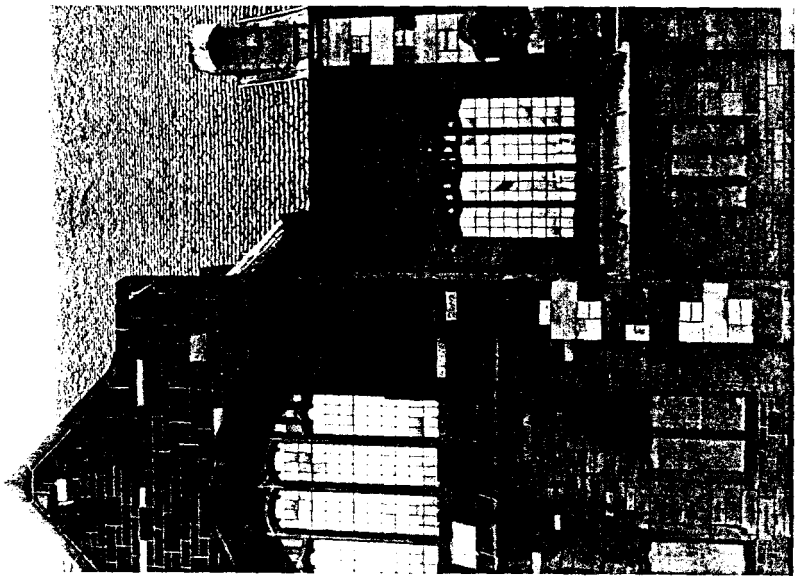

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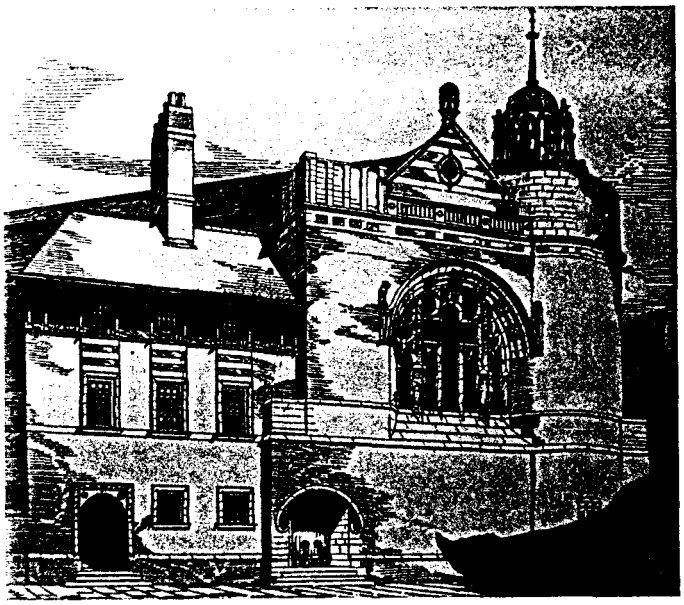

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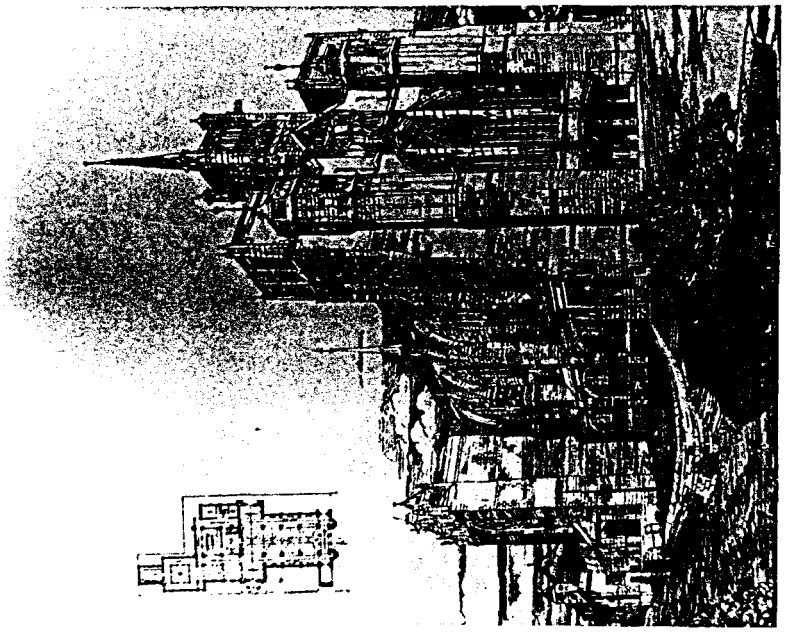

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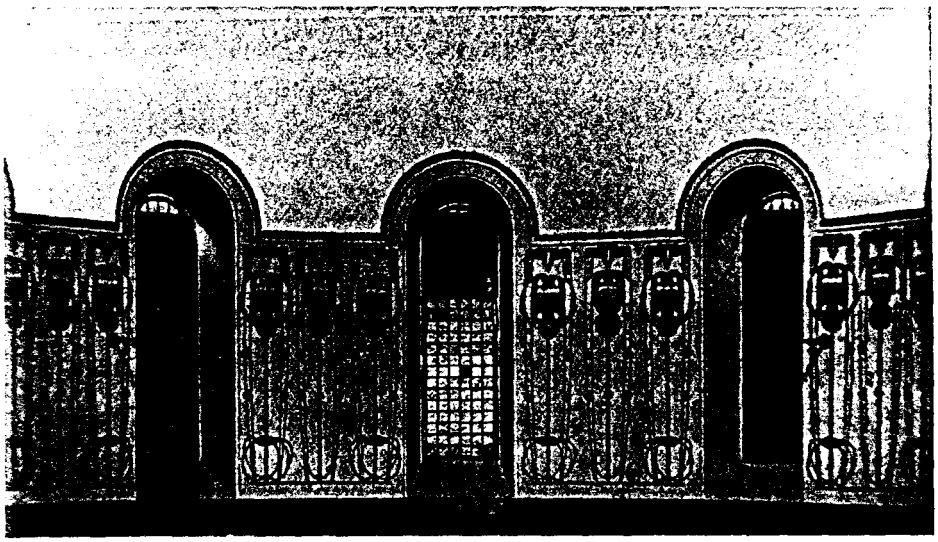

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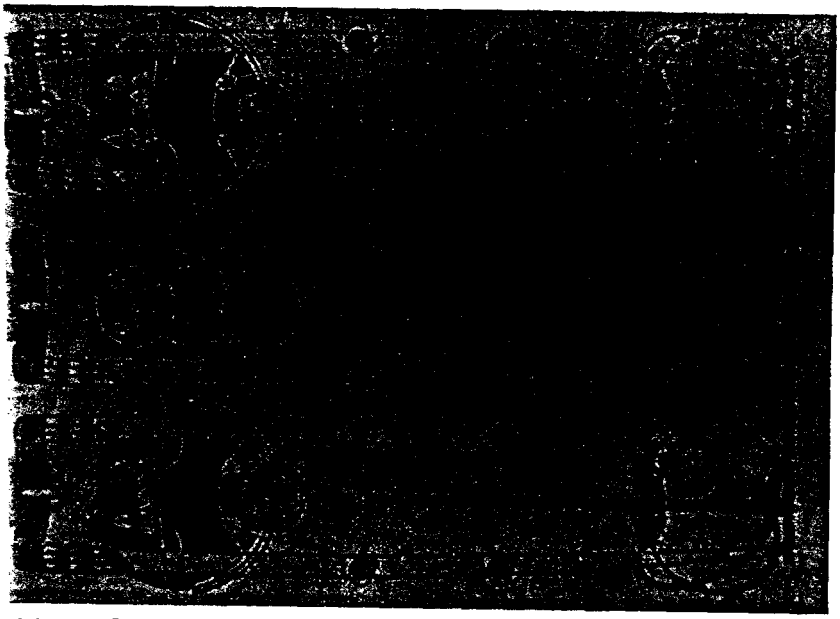

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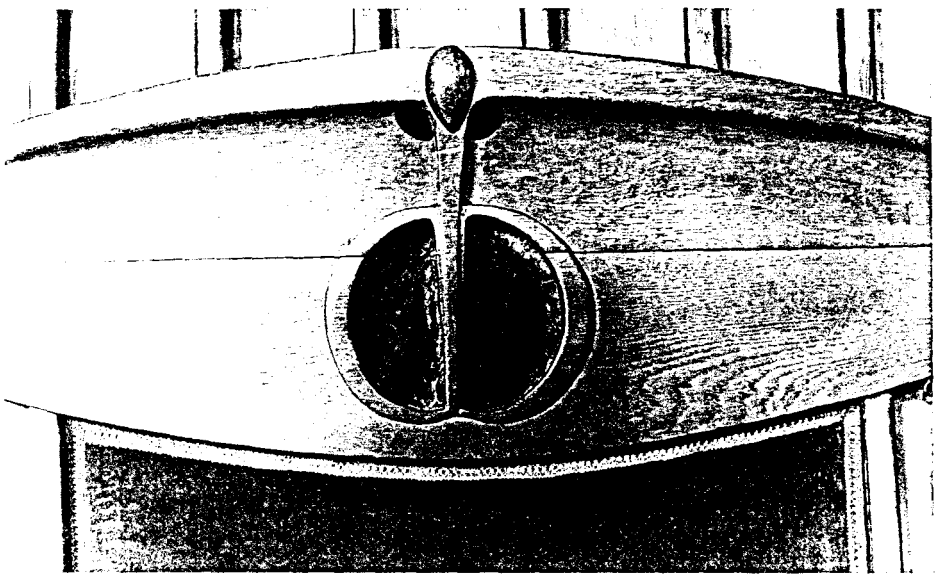

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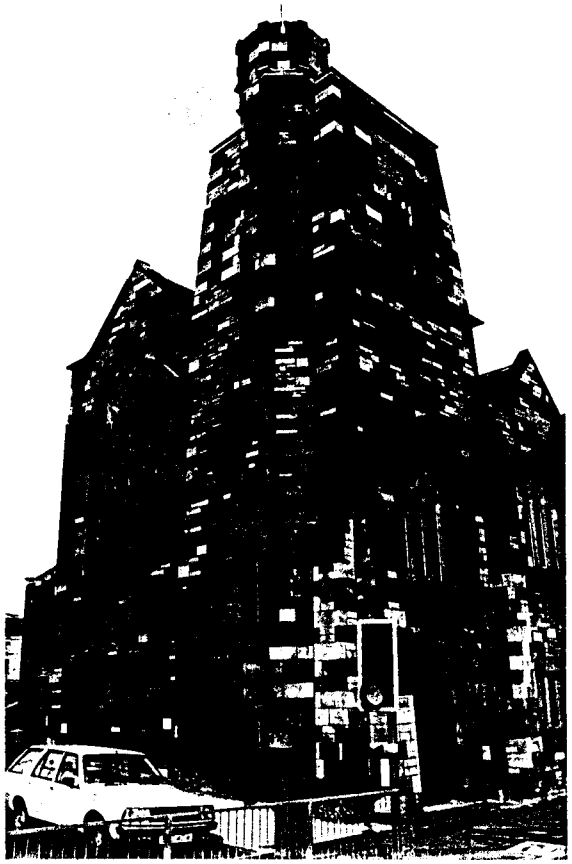
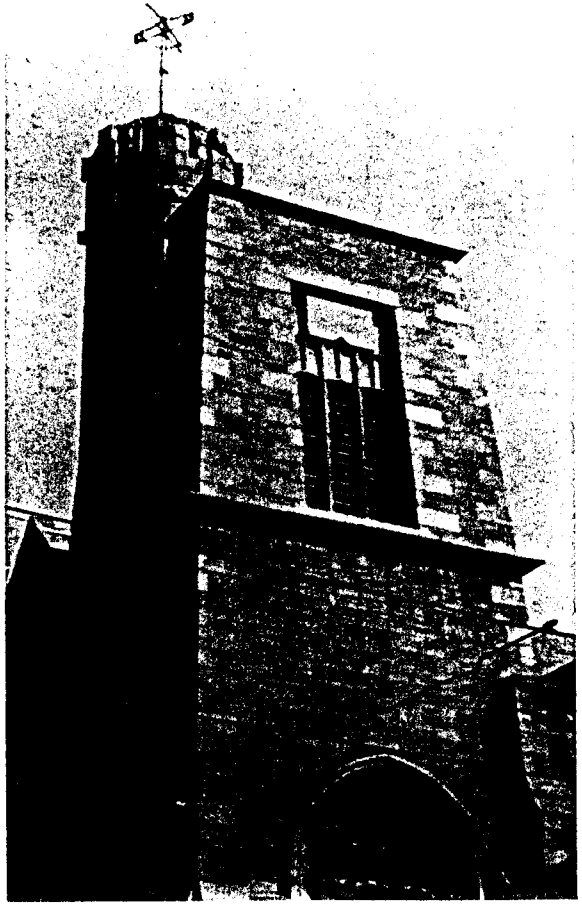
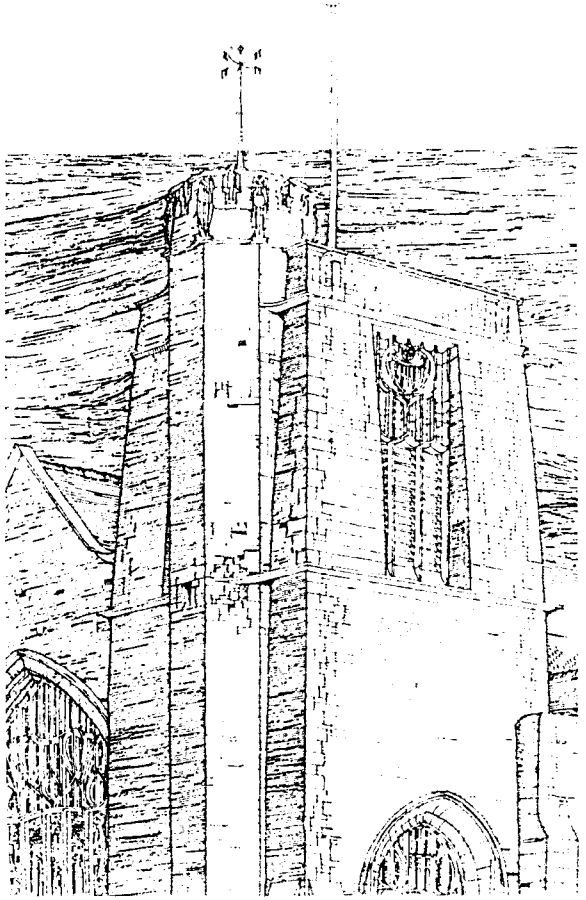


24. Queen's Cross, the tower today



25. Queen's Cross Corner Tower.



26. Detail of Perspestive of Queen's Cross